

THE LONG LOST "CITY" OF SAN GABRIEL DEL YUNGUE, SECOND OLDEST EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

Florence Hawley Ellis

What do we actually know today of Yungue, that part of San Juan Pueblo in the northern Rio Grande Valley, only five miles north of Espanola, which the Spaniards took over with the intent of making it their first permanent settlement and capital in the late sixteenth century Southwest?

Well, in truth a surprising lot is known about details of this site (LA 59: USGS San Juan Pueblo Quad. T21 N, R8 E, Sec. 15) and its artifacts but by surprisingly few persons. Most of these few are archaeologists.

Twenty-three years ago I was asked to give several lectures in Santa Fe and vicinity on our recently concluded excavations. An exhibit of our own major finds and of the Spanish helmet discovered earlier was displayed in the reception area of the Governors Palace (New Mexico State Museum) in Santa Fe, and following that the Maxwell Museum at the University of New Mexico, where the material since has been housed in their secure storage facilities, put on an exhibit of our collections.

We had not expected to dig up and then re-bury in storage the data and the finds from San Gabriel del Yungue. Some of the state officials at that time were becoming interested in a project for which we were making tentative plans: a free-to-the public museum on the site with arrangements for a sales area where the San Juan people could present their own handicrafts. Our work and finds at San Gabriel had brought Governor Mechem, representatives of the museum, Spain's major newsman, then at the Spanish embassy in Washington, and numerous others out to see the excavations in progress. This show of widespread enthusiasm was capped by an article in *Time Magazine* and articles in numerous papers over the United States. An architect friend contributed an elevation of the small museum proposed for the grounds. We would make some further excavations to complete the outline of the site, and space near the old narrow-gauge Denver and Rio Grande station foundations would be made into a parking lot, the fees from which would provide a sum

to go to the Pueblo itself. The little access road serving two occupied houses but chancing to have been set directly over the colony's permanent long lost church of San Miguel could be re-routed without loss of convenience.

But within the Pueblo of San Juan there was stress over the problem of possibilities of some individuals being able to reap personal gain from the site. There was also concern about further excavation with its chance of disturbing more burials, though their major disturbance had resulted from use of bulldozers by San Juan members who had intended using the land for adobe-making and/or agriculture in the 1940s.

The outcome? In the face of disagreements within San Juan itself, nothing could be done. The proposed plans were dropped, and with ten years Onate's dream city once more was lost to most people, its story, its artifacts, even its shape a shadow.

The site of San Gabriel del Yungue (A.D. 1250 or 1300 - 1610) originally was that of an old and once flourishing pueblo, Yungue. From the literature we know that it became the first Spanish town in New Mexico which, in the sixteenth - seventeenth centuries, included today's Arizona. We also know that it represents the second oldest European settlement in what now is the United States and once could and should have been neatly excavated and restored, like eighteenth century colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, where in a day thousands of visitors glimpse for a few hours the life and conditions known to our early English settlers. But the few visitors who set out to see San Gabriel del Yungue today complain that nothing is visible except for some cultivated fields and two occupied dwellings, one, very modern, atop the highest mound of the old village and the other where the stubs of walls once making up the south mound (if there was one) remain hidden by an old adobe home with its outbuildings.

Archaeology's first step toward the rescue of history (sisters under the skin) in the widely important matter of location of San Gabriel del Yungue was when Bandelier rode his horse onto the scene (or was he on foot, as so often?) sometime between 1880 and 1885, talked with the San Juan elders and thus located and sketched the ruin of New Mexico's first capital, still known in native tradition. His explanation that it often was confused with Chamita, a short distance up the Chama, is explained in our present knowledge that the surface of old Yungue was occupied from the late 1880s by Spanish-Americans, some of whose ancestors conceivably may have been descendants of Onate's colonists.

Technically they were squatters on Indian land and in the 1920s were ordered to leave both by the council of San Juan Pueblo and by the newly created U.S. Pueblo Lands Board.

But Bandelier's answer to the question of precisely where and just what "Yungue" was (also recorded as "Yunque Yunque" and in other elaborated variations which the San Juan Indians today claim should have been correctly and simply "Yungue Ouinge," meaning "the place known as Yungue"), was not entirely satisfactory to the historians. There also was the problem of what its relation had been to San Juan Bautista, the still existent Pueblo named by Onate himself. And if the Spaniards settled in San Gabriel del Yungue (often but not always written merely as "San Gabriel"), how could they also dateline some of their messages to officials in Mexico as from "San Juan"?

The intermitten tale of archaeology-to-the-rescue begun by Bandelier's late 19th century investigations was taken up in 1944 when Marjorie Tichy, curator of archaeology for the Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fe, was asked by Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, director of that Museum, to go out to San Juan Pueblo and learn what was under way. Rumor had it that major adobe-making was being handled by some of the Pueblo men along the tops and rises of the old mounds of the ruin identified as Yungue. Nothing produces better adobes than the walls of old ruins in which adobe has been used but, in such procedure, the ruins necessarily cease to exist.

As a result of this visit, Tichy was permitted to set up a one week excavation to be carried on by herself and two persons, a native man and wife, toward the south end of the old west house mound. Little came from this abbreviated dig except the renewed conviction that the site fitted the criteria for Yungue.

A few months earlier, Steve Trujillo, one of the San Juan men, in crossing the field near Tichy's excavation had chanced to kick up a curved piece of bronze on which a raised design decorated the exterior. Realizing the possibility of its importance, he turned it over to a much interested friend from Santa Fe. The friend promptly passed it on to Tichy, and she in turn sent it to one of the major American specialists on colonial Spanish artifacts. The opinion he returned was that it could have been part of the bell in the San Gabriel Church (an opinion since partly countered by others who believed it be broken from one of the metal mortars for grinding herbs and medicines, such as we know Onate had with him) and definitely was of the Spanish Colonial period.

Then, in 1946, word reached Santa Fe that a bulldozer was

being used to cut down parts of the old mounds at San Juan in a new adobe-making project. Taking another museum employee as a companion, Tichy went to San Juan and found, alas, that the story had not been exaggerated. Moreover, in walking over the dusty topsoil, they found masses of human bones and potsherds which had been brought to the surface by the bulldozer. They also found a chunk of corroded metal which turned out to be a section of chain mail, rusted together but definitely identifiable!

The Museum now notified the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Albuquerque, asking for aid. The Bureau sent out a man to discuss the problem with the Governor of San Juan Pueblo, explaining the importance of this historic site to Indians and non-Indians alike. The Governor, who happened to own the land involved, in turn explained that the Indians had not understood the matter before, and he promised that in the future, before any appreciable adobe making or cultivation was done there, the BIA would be advised.

Then, in 1951 Jose Abeita, one of the elderly San Juan leaders, while digging adobe from the side of the old west mound to make into adobe bricks for his daughter's home (on top of that mound) found that he had struck and broken a native type stone griddle at the bottom of his pit. Beneath the stone had been a cooking vessel, now likewise broken. Nested inside that vessel he saw what he thought must be "an old hat."

Wondering — correctly — whether that strange object might not be of some importance, he took it to Henry Kramer, owner of the local general store, who "gave him something for it" and at once carried it to Marjorie Tichy (now Lambert) at the state Museum. She promptly sent the "hat" to Harold L. Peterson, primary American authority on armor, and was rewarded with the statement that it had been a flat type archer's helmet and was not only the oldest piece of armor ever found in the United States but had been fashioned in Europe a century before Onate had brought his colony into New Mexico. It must have been purchased by that leader with a collection of secondhand armor which he had had to order in large lots for the volunteer "soldier settlers" who lacked some or all of their own required equipment for the expedition. At the time the "helmet" was found all the iron had disappeared from its metal. Thus it was merely a shape composed of iron rust and hence exceedingly fragile. Extensive conservation treatment by the Museum of New Mexico since, however, has provided enough stability so that the piece could be exhibited on special occasions. We can regret that permission and funds were not raised for

an extensive program of excavation at Yungue during this period of few but extraordinary finds. Instead, eight years passed quietly, and then, in the early spring of 1959, I received a letter from the then Governor of San Juan Pueblo requesting that, as head of the University of New Mexico's Archaeological Field School for that summer session of six weeks, I should bring our crew (usually forty to sixty) of student excavators plus six student assistant overseers — and "find out what San Juan had!" It was the first time any Pueblo had ever made a request for archaeological work on their lands, and we hastily changed our tentative summer plans to accommodate this important assignment.

One of our first pieces of preparation, other than checking adequate field equipment to be used by students and the scattering of San Juan men we hoped to hire for aid with some of the heavier tasks, was a quick review of Hammond and Rey's two volume *Oñate, the Colonizer of New Mexico*, the fullest reference on this site. (In order to minimize bulk,) we have not here given page references to these two volumes; they are multitudinous.) The other source we wanted to check at once was the traditional history of Yungue as a unit in the San Juan complex, as carried down from the past by the San Juan elders. Yungue definitely had been a part of San Juan, yes. But what was its actual relationship to that other section, Okeh, also a part of San Juan? The main plaza of each had been no more than one-fourth mile apart from that of the other, in a straight line.

Lambert's brief work and the finds by the Indians had proved that the site known to the Indians as Yungue quite certainly had been Oñate's San Gabriel. But what had it been before Oñate arrived?

According to tradition, said the elders of San Juan Pueblo, two branches of Tewa-speaking ancestors had come out of the northwest in prehistoric times. One, its members all classified as Summer People, settled for some years at various sites in the Chama Valley. The other, classified as Winter People, after having come out of the northwest wandered for some years east of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains on the edge of the Plains and then came down the east side of the Rio Grande Valley. Details in tradition are not of serious concern in our studies, but general lines of movement may offer leads.

In the meantime, some of the Summer People were leaving the Chama and its tributaries to resettle along the west bank of the Rio Grande. As time passed, the Summer and the Winter People

redistributed themselves so that every Tewa Pueblo had a group of each. The pueblo of Yungue was one of the villages on the western edge of the Rio Grande settled during the prehistoric period by Summer People who had moved down the Chama Valley. It is not difficult for an archaeologist to place an approximate date on this move. Tree-ring records indicate that the upper Rio Grande, like the Four Corners area, suffered increasing drought during the 1200s, especially through the second half of that century. Checking for the earliest types of pottery present in Yungue, we found Santa Fe and Wiyo Black-on-whites, characteristically indicative of the second half of the A.D. 1200s and running into the 1300s in this region.

One of the settlement patterns we have been able to spot for this stage was the amalgamation of some of the smaller Pueblos into single larger Pueblos (in some cases very large) during the A.D. 1250-1350 period. Such sites would have had the manpower to put in ditches for irrigation. The best locations for such sites were on tributaries where an appreciable natural drop carried water toward some larger stream. That drop made it possible to get the water out onto the potential farm land bordering the tributary without requiring such long ditches as would be necessary to raise water from a big stream with a slight drop, such as the Rio Grande, onto possible farm land along its banks. Our first example of this was noted at the ancestral Tewa pueblo of Sapawe (Ellis 1970), and irrigation ditches of this period since have been reported from a number of other ancestral Tewa pueblos in the Chama drainage and similarly in the Nambe area and farther down the Rio Grande. The last of the Tewa moves from the Chama into the upper Rio Grande and similarly into the eastern foothills of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains must have dated from the late 1500s. At that time, as we know from tree ring records, such a lengthy drought struck the Pajarito Plateau and the adjoining Chama area that this entire high territory was abandoned. The people joined their relatives in the Rio Grande bottom, especially where tributaries, such as the Chama, the Nambe, and lower Santa Clara Creek, and some other tributaries on both sides of the Rio Grande provided water and valley or delta land to be planted.

San Juan tradition places one of the units of Winter People as first settling some miles above present San Juan Pueblo but below the opening to Taos Cañon. When their pueblo and their fields were washed out by flood, the inhabitants of that site moved down river and rebuilt. Once again their village was ruined by a flood.

This time they went to the people of Yungue, still farther south, and asked if they might resettle themselves across from that pueblo, on the bluff above the eastern edge of the river. Yungue agreed to that arrangement, and the new village still known as Okeh thus was established. Surface sherds suggest that this event occurred in the 1300s. The close proximity of the two peoples led to their becoming "like brothers" and they decided to merge into a single tribe though living in two communities about one-fourth mile apart. The ritual head of the Summer people would be the chief priest responsible for all activities pertaining to the summer ceremonial sequence (concentrating especially, but not solely, on the growth of domesticated plants) and would be the principal tribal leader during that period. In a parallel arrangement, the ritual head of the Winter people would be the winter chief and responsible for all activities pertaining to the winter ceremonial sequence, concentrating especially, but not solely, on fertility of animals, wild and domestic. Eventually, it is said, many of the Summer people from Yungue moved to join the Winter people living on the bluff at Okeh. Thus Okeh became the larger settlement.

There is no problem in Pueblo thought with the fact that a Pueblo is understood not to be an architectural unit (as commonly supposed by non-Indians), but is a *tribe* living in one or several such architectural units which may be thought of as parallel to apartment houses or even more closely to condominiums. For example, the visitor notes that Taos Pueblo has two easily visible "pueblos," architectural units, one on each side of the stream. Today's Laguna Pueblo is a single tribe with a single center, Old Laguna, but it has some nine or more villages or pueblos in which the tribesmen live on Laguna land.¹ Understanding that a Pueblo tribe may be made up of several geographic units, though the whole comprises one sociological unit, is important.

So we must picture our sixteenth century San Juan tribe as occupying two geographic centers, very close to each other and with a part of their farms separated only by the stream of the Rio Grande. At least the Yungue people were also cultivating the delta

1. Note: we use the non-capitalized form for the architectural unit but the capitalized form, Pueblo, for the tribe, for the village name, for an individual member of any Pueblo tribe, and for the culture characteristic of Pueblo tribes. Some but not all of the smaller pueblos belonging to a tribe began as farm sites at a distance out from the main village.

the expedition) reached San Gabriel, the new capital, on Christmas eve, 1600.

The general statement that the move of Onate's headquarters and of the Spaniards in general from Okeh to Yungue during the midwinter period of 1600-1601 appears to be safe.

Certainly that move could not have been made in a day — but why was it made at all? Therein hangs a tale of human beings with their pressing desires, habits, and customs — some of the most prominent sectors of what the anthropologist refers to as the "culture" of a people.

If we return to the long and hard trek northward from Mexico, we recall that Onate and his captains, impatient at the necessary slowness of the main party traveling with eighty-three loaded ox-carts and wagons and driving over 7000 horses, cattle, sheep, goats, and even pigs, hastened ahead of the burdened settlers. After introducing themselves at San Juan, they spent some four weeks visiting and explaining themselves and their mission to Pueblos not encountered on their route. The next venture recorded is their beginning work on an irrigation ditch system at San Juan which was to serve "the city of our father San Francisco." We are told nothing more concerning these ditches except that some 1500 of the local Indians were giving the Spaniards a hand. Considering that Tewa ancestors had been managing ditch irrigation with stone implements for the last 300 years and that the Spaniards' metal implements all were on the ox carts in transit, it is probable that the natives would have been considerably more adept than the Spanish captains at handling the task.

Reading farther, we learn that as soon as the group of soldier-colonists did arrive at San Juan, they constructed a church which within two weeks was complete enough for the Spaniards to stage its dedicatory mass. The only type of structure which could have been raised here in that time period, large enough to hold some 500 persons, and possibly more if we consider that Indian leaders may have been invited as guests, would have been of jacal, vertical posts set into a trench and plastered inside and out with mud. Such structures are not costly in time or labor but their lifetime is limited, and we note that no one ever has reported finding remains of this first and impermanent church. Its site probably has been built over once and again since its abandonment almost four centuries ago.

There is no further mention of that "city of our father San Francisco." As one of the witnesses later explained, the colonists

of the Chama. Whether the combined tribe had a name we do not know; we do know that Onate conferred the patron saint and the name "San Juan Bautista," to the combined tribe as such. Onate's occasional use of the term "San Juan de los Caballeros" (San Juan of the Gentlemen) presumably refers to the kindly cooperative arrangement by the tribesmen in permitting the Spaniards, upon their arrival, to move in with local families or, more likely, to take over temporarily empty houses, of which some always exist in a pueblo. The two geographic divisions of the tribe, more or less comparable to our named geographic sections of cities or towns, have continued to retain their local names, Okeh and Yungue, even to the present, though "Yungue" is rarely heard today because of the few tribesmen presently living in that district. "San Juan" has been used to cover the major area of use by all San Juan people as well as for the village of Okeh throughout American times. This probably was true in Spanish Colonial times as well, thus explaining Captain Velasco's commentary in a letter to the viceroy, March 22, 1601, sent out from San Gabriel, that in first reaching northern New Mexico

... We came to a pueblo, where the governor ordered a halt. It is the one from which I am writing your lordship. We have been here three years ...

Hammond and Rey 1953:609

We would say that Velasco was referring to the Spaniards by 1601 having been in the San Juan area, (Okeh and Yungue together with their environs) for three years, even as we ourselves commonly combine the two closely adjoining sites under the single geographic term of "San Juan."

The problem of whether the Spaniards actually did move into Okeh at first and later took over Yungue, or settled in Yungue at the beginning and remained there, has puzzled historians. Hammond and Rey, carefully sorting over the Onate papers, came to the conclusion that as all communications sent out from New Mexico between the summer of 1598 and February 15, 1599 had been datelined as written from San Juan, whereas all letters and/or reports datelined between March 22, 1601 and October 1601 were sent out as from San Gabriel, it would appear that San Juan (Okeh) had been Onate's first headquarters but that between the spring of 1599 and March of 1601 the Spaniards had taken over Yungue on a permanent basis. We know that Onate's second group of "soldier-colonialists" (those recruited after the first group left Mexico, in order to make up the number of persons guaranteed by Onate for

had refused to put out the labor necessary for constructing a town because they found life here too full of privations and did not want to remain in New Mexico. True, the trek up from Mexico had been rough and food scarce. Onate, as governor, quite obviously had planned a "city" from the beginning, one where the extra coaches he had brought could be driven and at least some houses would have beds with silken spreads and there would be occasions for wearing one's best dress clothing. But certainly mixing and laying adobes for several hundred houses unquestionably would have taken a large block of time. Moreover, the problem of using only semi-satisfactory cottonwood for roof beams or of cutting pines and bringing them out of the mountains, quite possibly involving dangers from Indians as well as months of labor, would have greatly reduced the time available for putting in family farms — and the all important pursuit of some possible source of riches.

Previously, every Spanish expedition into this area had been exploratory with the preliminary hope of finding an easily available source of wealth. Even after the members of the expedition had returned, empty-handed, to Mexico, alluring tales concerning what some thought might have been found had there been more time persisted. Onate's "colonists" were not moving into the Southwest long enough after those explorers had left it for their interests to have become very enthusiastically concentrated on agriculture or on house building. Apparently this problem had not occurred to Onate, nor, we would surmise, to any of the other prominent Spanish leaders who had competed for the position of leading the first group of colonists into this fairly distant frontier. It was a built-in hazard.

But many of the men had brought wives and families and apart from Onate's personal desire that his group should have at least a settlement of their own, the colonists were complaining all too audibly at living in native houses where ventilation from the smoky fires of cottonwood brought from the valley groves was almost nil, and bedbugs and other biting insects could not be overlooked as sources of discomfort.

How much do we know of Pueblo living conditions for the late pre-Spanish period? If the Spaniards were to give up construction of a town, in exchange for renovation of an already standing pueblo, what could they expect that native-built structure to be like?

By the 1500s, many pueblos were made up of one or more house blocks, the arrangement of which was fitted to the contours

of the location chosen for the village. Some consisted of house blocks arranged around a rectangular central plaza or two plazas in which were one or more great underground kivas to accommodate major religious and secular functions involving all or a large part of the tribe. There also were varied numbers of smaller kivas in which meetings of the diversified religious societies in which membership might consist of a few or many individuals were held. As in our own cities and towns, all parts of a village were not necessarily in good condition at any one time; some houses were closed and fell into ruins after families died out.

We were fortunate in having a description of Yungue by Villagra in *History of New Mexico*, 1610 (Canto xxvii, fol. 228), eventually to be quoted by Bandelier (1892:59;fn 1). Villagra gave Yungue but one plaza, rectangular and with an entrance at each corner which he said the Spaniards themselves put in after they had fortified it with field stones and muskets. (Elsewhere we read that no fortifications as such were added.) The houses and the terraces of flat house roofs were high, a statement which Bandelier interprets as referring to two or three stories of rooms. In spite of his statement (Bandelier 1892:59) that "all had disappeared" by the time he visited the site, he provides a simple map (Plate 2, Fig. 10) showing two house blocks, each with a rough right angle bend toward its center, possibly indicative of where the ends of two smaller house blocks came close together or met. At what would have been the other two corners, openings were indicated.

A Pueblo home usually was part of a house block. Each family might construct its own apartment as a addition to others already present, but some house blocks were laid up in large units in which parallel walls were built as long as the house block was planned to be and cross walls then were set between those walls to cut off individual rooms or apartments. A Pueblo apartment in a large site of the late prehistoric and early historic period quite commonly was three rooms deep, its front facing onto a plaza and the back being either a solid outer wall or a wall which served as back not only to the apartment just described but also to a similar one facing in the opposite direction. Such long walls would have been put together by Pueblo men under the planned direction of certain of the Pueblo's officers. In 1892 Bandelier found Santo Domingo Pueblo laying up new long walls in this fashion for house blocks intended to replace those which had recently disappeared in a flood. The cross walls were put in by the individual families who would own their apartments. This appears to have been the system earlier

used in building the great Chaco Pueblos of northwestern New Mexico and a great many others, whether of masonry or, as so commonly in the Rio Grande valley, of coursed adobe. And this is the system we found had been used in building the native house blocks of Yungue Pueblo.

The entrance to Pueblo rooms characteristically was by means of a ladder which descended at a slight slope through a hatchway in the roof. The roof also was reached by ladder; drawing up the ladders for centuries had been a means of protection from enemies. Smoke from the floor firepit used for cooking and heating was expected to find its slow way upward for escape through the same hatchway in the roof. Chimneys and corner fireplaces which today's Southwesterners so often think of as characteristically "Pueblo," actually were of Spanish introduction.

If a pueblo house block was to be two or more stories high, the upper stories must be terraced back so that the roof hatchway which served as smoke hole and ladder accessway would not be in the floor of a living room directly above. Otherwise, the room with the hatchway in its floor would be filled with smoke whenever someone built a fire in the firepit of the lower room. It seems that in large house blocks first floor rooms quite commonly were used only for storage if there were living rooms directly above.

The secular architecture which produced the Pueblo home was the most highly developed of any north of Mexico, but in order to fit Spanish tastes, some modifications clearly would be necessary. Of primary importance were floor level doorways and a few windows, probably small and left uncovered in summer but possibly filled in with a slab of translucent selenite or, more likely, with wood in winter.

What to do?

One obviously could not make over the dwelling of one's host — but if the Spaniards could only arrange to acquire old Yungue, part of it moldering in the sun but part still occupied — ?

The majority of the Indians still living there just might be persuaded to cross the Rio Grande and move in with their relatives at Okeh — leaving a few whose labors would be engaged in the renovations and repair of Yungue to something approaching Spanish specifications. At least the Spanish elite and the families as such thus could be accommodated with fair comfort. Perhaps one considerable section of rooms might be left relatively unchanged for use as barracks to house the unmarried soldier-settlers. Some walls probably would need stabilizing or replacing. A small

block of adjoining rooms might be modified and arranged with an adjoining room into some approximation of a Spanish kitchen to serve the five or six religious brothers as their monastery. Near the church, of course, for an adequate and permanent church must be raised in a prominent spot as soon as possible.

And thus it was done.

As archaeologists, we read the dream (which no one had time or felt the need to record in those last days of the 1500s) through its accomplishment. Today's San Juan people knew from their ancestors only that the old west mound had served the Spaniards as barracks, and some told various interested inquirers that the church was said to have stood somewhere toward the south side of what could be made out of the general layout of the ruins today. Beneath the Martinez house south of the little access road? Or at one side? Or in their field?

Our only approximate map of the whole original site, as we have indicated, is that sketched by Bandelier, which in general is born out by aerial photographs and ground shots taken after our excavations, though these modern depictions can show only what was left after the modifications engendered by 19th-20th century changes planned by the natives for economic "improvements."

We began our excavations a few feet north of the front porch of the house on the west mound with permission of the owners but with a warning that their intention was to shortly expand their establishment in all directions. By the following season, the area in front of that porch might become a swimming pool or a rose garden. In other words, any investigation planned must be done at once or given up.

Our entire first season (1959) was spent on uncovering the northern half of what was left of the west mound, both edges as well as the upper surface having been cut into by removal of an unknown number of cubic feet of soil by use of a bulldozer. What we learned was that this mound had been constructed and used in four successive stages. And we should add that in spite of what obviously was now gone from the two sides of the west mound at field (Plaza) level, it was quite certain that all the stages ever existent still were represented. Some but not a great deal of soil had been intentionally cut away from the upper surface of this mound, as had been admitted and as we already have described, but considerably more probably had disappeared through erosion between the period of occupation by Onate's men (early 1600s) and its reoccupation, with new and different structures, by Spanish-

Americans between the late 1800s and the early 1920s.

The bulldozer cuts and adobe pits at the edges of the mound had left only partial walls to the outermost rooms which our excavations uncovered. We cannot state with any certainty just how many rooms would have been present in an original cross-section of the main portion of this mound. We do know that the first construction and occupation here dated from the mid A.D. 1200s or early 1300s as indicated by sherds of Santa Fe and Wiyó Black-on-white. However, as in all the Yungue areas in which we excavated, the breaking down of old walls and consequent disturbance of fill in upper rooms and especially of fill which came to be deposited in later-built or later-renovated rooms, had resulted in mixing of sherds known to actually represent different periods. Therefore, except for noting the generally understood date range on sherds present, and their comparative proportions by type, data from sherd complexes could provide little information. Old vessels, even if cracked or otherwise disfigured sometimes were buried in a corner of the floor of first floor rooms for holding food materials, probably ground corn flour or shelled corn, comfortably at hand for meal planners.

The early rooms had been built with coursed adobe walls laid up in layered courses of adobe patted into place, the initial course lying directly on native soil, a custom discarded by the second period. A fireplace or rectangular box had been cut into the native soil, usually toward the east wall. The floor and pit both were finished with adobe plaster.

Such a pit provided both heat and cooking facilities, and directly above it an opening would have been left in the roof, a sturdily edged hatchway to serve both as an exit for the smoke and an entryway for the ladder up and down which the householders climbed as we would use a stairway. Via this ladder they could reach the second story, though probably, if the lower floor was used for cooking, the hatchway would open onto one of the open areas of the roof to one side of the second story living rooms, thus avoiding, as we explained earlier, the problem of smoke from the fire in a first story room venting directly into a living room above. This was the major reason why pueblos of more than one story characteristically were planned with set-backs for the upper rooms. On the unroofed open floor space provided by those set-backs would be not only the hatchway opening for the room below but also a fire hearth for open-air cooking in good weather, an area for drying corn after harvest, and even sufficient space for sleeping

out on hot summer nights and handling food preparation or working on pottery making, basketry, or other tasks until the winter chill set in. Such an open terrace arrangement could almost double one's usable house area.

How would we know that most of the lower floor rooms in this structure and in many other pueblos of this period in the northern Southwest were intended for storage? When there is neither fireplace nor firebox in the floor of the first story, we can be quite certain the rooms of that level would have been too cold for winter occupation, though they would have served well for storage those of the next story above were intended for living and sleeping quarters and also for corn grinding and cooking.

Floor level doorways were considered dangerous even into the historic period and hence were almost unknown except in some of the cliff dwellings or between inner rooms and sometimes into a courtyard, if the entire pueblo was walled except for protected openings. A householder could climb his ladder onto the second floor and pull it up after himself if he wanted no one else to follow him. Other ladders went on to upper stories.

To judge from our excavations, even the lower floor rooms of Yungue were not usually connected to each other by doorway openings; most rooms must have had a ladder reaching down from above.

How many stories the west mound house block had we could not determine with complete certainty. There was clear evidence of a second floor having been constructed, the walls of this and of later-added stories being of coursed adobe laid upon a cobblestone foundation usually two stones wide and one or two deep. This makes us quite sure that the structure originally had been only one story high, and that by the time it was decided to add a second story, the use of a cobble foundation had become popular.

Eventually, in a third stage, some of the old walls were cut down, probably with renewal repairs in mind. The debris from their upper parts was spread as fill on which to lay a new floor, and fresh walls were raised either directly on the stubs of the old walls or at a slightly different angle, the base being the knocked-down and probably tamped soil from the older walls.

Here we find ourselves uncovering a major job of reconstruction which we can summarize as consisting of the upper part of the original bottom or first story walls being cut off and the debris used to fill in the room outline. A new set of walls then was constructed on the butts of the old walls as bases or directly on the fill

in those cases where a slightly different wall orientation now was followed. In both, parallel walls evidently had been laid up by groups of men working under planned direction. These newer rooms, representing a second period of occupation of the west mound, may have been occupied by the last of the Yungue Pueblo people to live here and then was merely cleared by native workers in accord with Onate's concept of adapting the west mound to serve as barracks for his single men. Or this may have been a renovation project intended to make an old portion of the west mound habitable for the colonists by knocking down a block of unstable walls and roofs and having them largely replaced on the old bases. No detail on renovation of any of the house blocks is mentioned in Spanish papers.

But, interestingly because this is a point rarely thought of in relation to the housing of Spanish soldiers, the first (bottom) floor rooms quite certainly were not the actual living quarters. The renovated lower story would have served primarily for storage, as we know from the lack of firepits or fireboxes. Above those rooms was the second story, consisting of living quarters. This we know from the fact that when the house block collapsed some time after Yungue was abandoned by the Spaniards, being moved by their new leader to Santa Fe (1610), the debris from this second story fell into the vacant rooms below. It was in this fill that we found numerous fragments of iron and bronze, too small, broken, and corroded to be recognizable as parts of specific artifacts but obviously of Spanish introduction. In this debris there also were four sherds of the highly tinglazed and colorful 16th century maiolica, probably made in Mexico and brought from there as part of the men's living equipment.

The only whole artifacts we found in this association were two small brass cups made to fit into each other, the type of container into which small amounts of gold dust or other valuable material could be placed for weighing on one of the old type balance scales. Some young man had hopefully included them in his baggage from Mexico but left them when none of the wished-for wealth could be located.

The replacing of much of the old walls here, and the finishing of the new ones with a fresh coat of adobe plaster would have greatly minimized the problem of bedbugs, formerly not unusual in old pueblo structures, those of Spanish-American villagers, and even in some of the town homes of New Mexico as late as into the edge of the 1940's. Those unwelcome creatures were said to be

present in part of the local timber even as it was brought from the forests, and until the development of DDT during World War II, their elimination from rooms with viga ceilings could be very difficult. New Mexico was not alone. I well recall the annual spring spraying of an apartment owned by the University of Chicago when I lived in that apartment as well as using it as a laboratory and classroom while teaching for the University.

We found very few instances in which the upper or the lower floor rooms of the west mound appeared to have opened into each other.

Only a few inches below the present surface of the west mound, we came across remnants of the clay floors (often whitewashed) of Spanish-American dwellings which had been constructed between the late 1800s (or before) and approximately 1920, when the natives of San Juan began a campaign to persuade those families, as trespassers, to move off Indian land. This movement was brought to a head with the decisions of the San Juan Council and also of the Pueblo Lands Board in the 1920s and early 1930s.

In holes which evidently once had been root cellars or merely trash pits cut down into the filled rooms of colonial Spanish period, we found old shoes, bottles, pieces from farm implements, and in some cases secondary burials, usually but not always of infants and children, the bones sometimes folded into newspapers dating from our own lifetime. Evidently later occupants of this mound (Spanish-Americans), like our own excavators, had come across the burials while building their own structures in the upper levels on the mound and at least in some cases had reentered them. As we would learn at the end of this summer and during our work of the following season at the upper end of the east mound, this entire site, or at least the mounds as such, had been utilized as a burying ground after the Spanish colonists had left and evidently before use of the Catholic churchyard as a cemetery had been accepted by the natives.

Our work on the east mound (we skipped whatever remained of the north mound because of growing concern for probable time limitations) began in the north portion, just south of Lee Montoya's fence, in late 1959 and was continued in 1960. Nowhere could one see any signs of walls on the surface. Examination of a now much broken down cut for an irrigation ditch which had carried water southward into a former corn field just north of the little access road, showed that it had led through a heavily used burial plot, in

part apparently an old ash pile but in part the fill of rooms after their abandonment by the Spaniards. It also had been, as we were told, the location of one of the 20th century adobe-mixing pits. We staked off "sections" or "areas" where we could work downward and sideways until we should locate some room walls to provide a natural and expandable grid indicating the general layout of this house block.

Alignment for the rooms toward the north end of the east mound, as for those of the west mound, was more or less north-south, but variations in line suggest that they had been built by family groups, perhaps over a period of a few years rather than as a planned whole. Their fill contained plentiful sherds, charcoal, ash, some stone, a few animal bones, and a scattering of broken stone and bone implements. Evidently, like the west mound, the east mound originally had been at least two stories high. The first story rooms were largely devoid of fireboxes and hence quite surely had been intended for storage, and the debris now filling the roofless room outlines to a depth of several feet could have come only from collapsed upper stories, the living quarters. That the Spaniards had occupied these quarters definitely was indicated by scattered finds of corroded metal fragments and even a few maiolica sherds, as in the west mound.

But the north end of the east mound had no more been the center of the Spanish "city" than had the west mound. Where were the headquarters of Onate and his captains, certain to have been modified to more closely fit Spanish standards of that day? And the apartments for the 42 to 50 families of lesser status? And that church of San Miguel in which, as we read in the Hammond and Rey papers, on September 7, 1601, the dissident colonists, fearful of the drastic food shortage in the drought years of 1600-1601, discontented at lack of any visible ways to make quick personal fortunes, bored by shortage of unmarried Spanish women, and carrying the prejudice of a Spanish cultural heritage condemning agriculture as one of the lowest of all occupations, plus, for the clerics, conviction that the type of treatment received by the Pueblos in pillaging and punishment by the Spaniards was keeping the number of conversions low — met while Onate was out on the Plains with a party — and decided to desert and make the best possible time back to Mexico? And where on October 2, 1601, the 23 remaining loyal colonists met to compose documents stating their approval of Onate's leadership, the fertility of the land, and their ardent desire to remain at San Gabriel?

Counting the weeks still covered by our excavation permit, we decided to skip two or three rows of the houses we had been following southward, that area to be caught up, we hoped, in some later uncovering. Our thought was to start an experimental trench toward the center of a now flat field, long Lee Montoya's corn patch, in what presumably should have been the mid section of the east mound. Years of ditch irrigation had hardened the soil, impregnated as it was with the clay of once existent house walls.

To our delight, within the first day we found walls, or at least their stubs which fortunately had been just far enough below the bulldozer line and the plow line to be saved. Excitement began to rise as we followed those bases, ranging from a few inches to over a foot in height, for they opened up a new vision of row after row of contiguous rooms stretching from what had been the eastern limits of this house mass all the way to what had been the eastern edge of the big central plaza. (See 1962 map.) But it was as we uncovered the southeastern corner of this big rectangular structure that enthusiasm really began to soar.

For there, at last, we definitely could recognize the apartments which had been renovated for Spanish use, rooms opened into each other by means of floor level doorways. Whatever the doors had been, a suspended hide or the old Spanish type wooden door with heavy extended pegs at top and bottom of one margin to fit into cups cut into possibly once existent wooden lintels, no evidence remains today. We may guess, from the few comments in the Onate papers, that small windows similarly were cut through some of the outer walls to aid with the problem of ventilation, though none of the walls now remaining were high enough to show such features.

Some of the "apartments" (VI, IV, I) found as we approached the southeast corner of this house block were represented by but one first story room with a ground floor doorway opening onto the space separating the eastern edge of this house block from the old peripheral mound of debris where deposits from the Spanish period were combined with those from preceding times rather than providing a neat and different top layer. The Spanish debris, resulting from their short occupation of 9 years, certainly should have been minimal in comparison to that of the earlier native occupation of some three hundred years but the admitted bulldozing had, as everywhere in Yungue, mixed the materials rather than eliminating either.

As elsewhere, if no firepit was found in the ground floor of a southeast apartment, we had to surmise that the first story room

had served for storage as well as an entry chamber and that the living quarters, with cooking facilities, had been above, on the second story. This one ground floor room type with outside doorway we classified, on the basis of what we could see, as "one room apartments." In reality, they must have had two rooms, at least: a living-cooking room, and possibly one or more adjoining rooms above the bottom story entry-storage room.

There also were some two ground floor room apartments (VII, V) near the southeastern corner of this house block, with a doorway opening between those rooms and the exterior. (See Plan of Yungue Spanish Area, 1960.) One would suppose that the living quarters on the second floor of these had consisted of at least two rooms, one behind the other. For these the original Pueblo style apartments would have required no changes except for cutting Spanish type doorways into the walls, strengthening or replacing some walls as needed, and probably covering all the interior with a new layer of smooth adobe plaster.

But it was the second and the fourth apartments, around the corner, fronting on the south side of this house block that really captured our imagination. The second (II) consisted of a long narrow room (C) with three doorways, one leading in from the exterior, one opening into adjoining room M, behind C and similar to it but longer, and one connecting with room B, on the east side of C, almost equally long and slightly wider than C. A pottery vessel buried to its neck for storage use was found against one wall in room B and another in C. But these were not the most important finds here. Just inside the outer door, opposite the jar, was a low cobblestone "table," approximately 4 inches high, 2 feet long, and only slightly less in width. Toward the northern corner of this same room was a second cobblestone "table" of the same proportions except for a slight addition in length. Directly and close in front of it was a Spanish (non-plastered) firepit in the floor, and against the north end of the "table" a locally made micaceous ware cooking jar stood upright in a slight depression in the floor. Pleasant ash was scattered over and around the "table," firepit, and jar.

It was the association of cooking jar, firepit, "table," and that considerable distribution of ash which provided the clue we needed. This had been not merely a room but an area for cooking. The firepit made that clear, and there were two more firepits of similar type in the room adjoining to the north.

Where had we seen something like the cobble "table" before,

though with an adobe-plastered surface — and from two or three to ten times as long? Of course: in the special miniature outside rooms some of the more conservative Rio Grande Pueblo families still use for preparing foods on ceremonial occasions but which also are found on larger scale in special rooms similarly used to cook meals for Pueblo religious societies when in retreat. The old Cushing and Stevenson reports show pictures of such "cooking shelves," as I have been calling them but which those older anthropologists referred to as "cooking fireplaces introduced by the Spaniards" (or some approximation of that phrase) on which a series of small fires burn beneath stone griddles or vessels supported by stone "fire dogs." The smoke from that extended hearth was picked up and carried off by a hood extending down from the roof and topped with several European cooking hearths in Spanish period Yungue; there may have been only the old Pueblo type open hatchway, with a draft aided by the nearby doorway. But Spanish introduction of the raised cobblestone hearths for cooking at this time seems certain.

Another introduction by the Spaniards was the dome outdoor oven for baking bread and other pastries of the wheat flour they ground in the village mill. Raised above the ground by a platform a few inches high, simply made of cobbles held in adobe and topped by a dome of clay with an opening at the base and vent hole above, it was heated by a fire built inside. The ashes and charcoal then swept out and the door opening closed with a slab after the goods to be baked had been set inside. The remains of five of these, the earliest known for our Southwest, were found in front of some of the east and southeast apartments.

Two room apartment VIII, immediately to the north of II, had no special features other than evidence of eight roof supports having been installed against the two west walls, supposedly because the Spaniards found those walls fragile.

The next apartment, III, to the west of II, had three large first story rooms, all connected by floor level doorways, but we found no clear evidence of cooking facilities. One pottery vessel had been left buried in the northern and one in the southern room (E and K), and a one-metate bin for corn grinding still stood in the central room, J. These rooms may have had shallow Spanish-type firepits; some of the floors were irregular enough to leave us in doubt. Or such rooms could have served for storage of the great list of items brought to New Mexico for colony usage, a mass requiring space and easy access. But note: our guesses in this line definitely are no

more than that.

Adjoining apartment III on the west was a collection for four small rooms (X: F and I; XI: G; and XII: II), as well as big room P, with fireplace. Three of these were connected by doorways. Unfortunately, one notes that at the western edge there is a slight discrepancy between the 1960 map of "Yungue Spanish Area" and that marked "Yungue, Summer 1962." The problem, we believe, lies in the 1960 map, made before excavation was completed, representing rooms G and II as two separate cubicles, each tying in, via a doorway, to an adjoining small room on the west. The 1962 map showing those "adjoining rooms" as one long room, part of the two room southwest corner apartment, appears to be correct, but it is quite possible that both floor plans had been used, in successive periods.

Then, just to the south of this room complex, not connected to any other room but with an outside entrance of its own, we uncovered apartment XIII, a remarkable one room "kitchen complex" with its own two divisions separated, primarily, by two "cobble hearths." Here was by far the most elaborately arranged functioning unit encountered anywhere in this site.

The outside entrance to this room, on the west, led into what may have been a small store room. To one's right, on passing from this small room through the doorway into the main room, was a long "cobble hearth," a bit more than half the length of the entire room, directly against the south wall. Reaching toward it from the north wall was a second similar "cobble hearth," only slightly shorter than the first. And wedged into the corner opening between the ends of the two was a perfectly preserved metate bin set at an angle, its single Pueblo style grinding stone still in place but because of space limitation at a steeper slope than was customary for a Pueblo woman's grinding position.

One should have reached the east half of this crowded kitchen room only by stepping over the north-south "cobble hearth" just mentioned. The east division of this room (marked L) had two such hearths, separated by a few inches between their ends, against the east wall. A single metate bin filled the southeast corner of this room.

Adjoining apartment XIII on its south side was the remains of a room with no special features except what appeared to have been a wide doorway toward the corner of the south wall. Our guess was that this room had served as a dining area for the men who lived in those rooms just north of the "kitchen complex." Who? Possibly